1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

Although the number of exceptions seems to be increasing, the recognized form of residence in all but secondary marriages is matrilocal.[1] Secondary marriages, where the man is already established on his own trap line, follow independent or patrilocal residence. One of the primary factors that seems to be undermining the custom of matrilocal residence is the inheritance of trap lines. In one instance this economic factor led a man to insist on both matrilocal residence for his daughter and patrilocal residence for his son. River Joe first expressed resentment when his daughter married outside of the Kaska area and took up residence in her husband's community several hundred miles away. "Where he get girl, stay there," Joe stated and pointed out that his daughter had access to a good trap line which could adequately support the couple. A few months later his son, Ted, became interested in a part Tahltan girl from the upper Dease River. Now the father affirmed that when his son married, he should remain on the family trap line. Where a young unmarried man holds ownership in a productive family trap line, or where he is anxious to acquire his own (as was Louis Mann), matrilocal residence is temporary, merely fulfilling the conditions of bride service and lasting only a year or two. When an Indian girl marries a white man independent residence is always followed.

Interesting information was obtained regarding a man's adjustment to the country in which he must operate after marriage. "First time pretty hard for me," Hans Donnelly reported. "I don't want to hunt nothing, I don't want to get lost. Now all right." From this statement it would appear that a man can learn the terrain and routes of a new area in about two years. There is no evidence that matrilocal residence poses any difficult problems of social adjustment for the man. He assumes the authority in his own family, lives in his own dwelling and, except for offering meat and other assistance to his father-in-law, pursues his own economic interests.

Adoption of young children is often practiced to increase the size of the nuclear family. The principal motives are the desire to insure future economic assistance and to provide care and subsistence for an orphan or half orphan whose surviving parent cannot effectively do so. While there are no fixed rules defining adoption, in general the relationship is assumed to be permanent and any measures taken by a surviving parent to abrogate it are regarded with resentment. Nevertheless adoption is often temporary and children often reclaimed by parents or by parents' siblings. Adopted children ideally achieve the status of true children. Manifestly, however, they may be overworked and sometimes are even more deprived of emotional satisfaction than true children. There is reluctance to adopt children who, it is feared, are not normal or healthy.

The private life of the Kaska family is not easy to observe. This is due to the social taboos maintained by the family, as well as to the slight interaction that is manifested publicly between spouses. While several newly married couples revealed signs of close emotional attachment, it is not usual for older ones to demonstrate any considerable amount of affection except possibly when intoxicated. Terms of endearment also seem to be lacking in the conversation of husband and wife, although a number of men (especially when drunk) were observed to address their wives as "mama." The general pattern of relations between marriage

[1] Generalizations based primarily on Upper Liard River data.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

in heaters even when green. Balsam is found in high mountains on rocky soil. The wood is good for fuel when dry and is easy to chop. The brush is particularly comfortable, its softness being compared to silk. People also regard the odor of balsam brush as highly pleasant. 824

Miscellaneous. Cosmic phenomena have stimulated relatively little speculative thinking among the Kaska. There is, for example, no clear idea if the moon and sun are male or female. Nitla had once vaguely heard that in May the moon is a woman. This may be a reflection of the Catholic belief regarding May as the month dedicated the Virgin Mary. There are no ideas of the moon affecting human behavior. The big August moon is a sign that game is fat but the planet itself does not influence the growth of game. Eclipses are noted with wonder but no interpretation of their cause or function could be obtained.[9] 821 177

Some men, notably Old Man and River Joe, possess a great knowledge of hydrographic phenomena, like the ability to "read water," which has been derived from long experience working on traders' river boats. It is widely recognized that rivers like the Liard, which rise in mountains, freeze quickly. On the other hand, rivers like the Frances and Dease, which have their sources in large lakes, take longer to ice over. People desire river ice to form quickly, as this assures a smooth surface that is ideal for toboggan travel. In hauling wood on sleighs and toboggans, the which are often run on the smooth shore ice of rivers. 823 [313]

Directions are not related to the cardinal points and few Indians could indicate north or south. References to direction are generally by the courses of rivers or by known landmarks identified with place names.

HUMAN ORGANISM

In this section are reported knowledge and attitudes concerning the structure and functioning of the human body as well as information, based on reports, observation, and clinical testing, regarding socially patterned psychological processes. It is obvious that some of the data consists of popular, scarcely formulated beliefs, which may vary considerably between different individuals, especially between members of different tribal districts. Some of the ideas may be survivals of aboriginal conceptions. These however, in contemporary Kaska thought are associated with attitudes which have undoubtedly been acquired from missionaries and other white men. As in the case of religion, no attempt has been made to classify aboriginal conceptions apart from introduced ideas, our purpose being to describe the content of knowledge regardless of its sources. 128 177

Bodily Structure and Function

The pattern of human growth is compared to the development of other aspects of nature. "Anything in the ground he grow. Some big grow; no sure he grow. Injun just the same." Growth of the body is a function of bone development. Girls mature more rapidly than boys. 856 827

Weather, food, and heredity are the principal factors determining the growth process. Summer is a more favorable period for human development than winter, so again it would seem as though the organism is viewed as developing in harmony with the rest of the

[9] [illegible] an eclipse of the moon which he had witnessed two days previously. He still recalls the [illegible] with wonder. See his autobiographical sketch below, p. 316.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

Adjustive expression. Up to this point discussion has been limited to aspects of utilitarianism revealed in adaptive resourcefulness. We now propose to examine the expression of this dominant motivation in the individual's psychological adjustment to phenomena like time, direction, and concept formation.

The Indian's slight concern with abstract systems of generalization is reflected first in the relative timelessness of the people. The best apprehended divisions of time are either based on the alternation between night and day, the passage of seasons, or else derived from the duration of cultural tasks (such as the period of time required to build a toboggan, make snowshoes, or clean a hide). Superimposed upon these relatively concrete divisions of time are the introduced patterns of a more abstract apportioning of the day, month, and year. Why have the Indians been slow in orienting themselves to the latter temporal divisions? Any explanation for this lag must take into account the dominant motivation which is threatened by these more abstract systems. Utilitarianism includes the need to be concrete. The abstract conception of time is meaningless, since it divorces the individual from realistically perceived units which he feels best suited to control.

This point of view may perhaps be better illustrated by abstract spatial orientation. The points of the compass mean little to the Kaska Indian. Instead, he equates himself to things of immediate personal significance, like the camp, a ridge, a range of hills, a river, or the direction of the current. The native patterns of temporal and spatial orientation may also be interpreted by saying that the concrete gives the Indian a sense of mastery, while the abstract means losing control. Mastery, therefore, is an aim of utilitarianism just as it is also related to egocentricity. In his orientation to time and space, the Kaska Indian is expressing both these dominant motivations in an attempt to preserve his self-sufficiency. It follows that any increasing readiness and ability to accept abstract temporal and spatial ideas would have to develop in terms of the native's world and self-views, or would follow from important basic personality changes.

Educational methods displayed in relation to children, with their neglect of principles and stress on learning by doing, also reflect the lack of motive to conceptualize, as well as the lack of interest in planning to which we will now turn attention.

Utilitarianism motivates the person's concrete attention to the present, whose significance is more readily perceived by the personality than past or future. The absence of idealizing or sentimental attitudes toward the past is related to both a focus on practical contemporary problems and an absence of intense interest in the future. As a result of an inability to cathect the past, the individual is unable to systematize his own life history beyond a series of sequential events, and often uninterested in even doing that within an orderly time frame. Examples of the inability to anticipate the future emotionally are provided from the ethnographer's discussion of the possibility that the Cassiar might become more familiar to white people, with a consequent influx of visitors. What would this mean to the Indian? Few men, with whom this potential problem was discussed, reacted to it with more than polite attention. The picture became even more extreme when individuals were hypothetically confronted with their own future. We have seen Gerald Leonard's reaction to this subject marked by a lack of personal ambition or aspiration and little evidence of genuine emotional interest.[10] Gerald is an adolescent. In Nitla, a young adult, we find even less in-

[10] See above, p. 250.